In Tibet the organization was somewhat different. Here was a vast region governed by a political-ecclesiastical machine, the Lama hierarchy. None of the leaders of the hierarchy, either at the capital or at the largest monasteries, could be chosen without the consent of a representative of Peking. At the head of the Manchu administration in Tibet, at Lhasa, was an imperial resident. Major subordinates were stationed at three centers, including Lhasa. All were under the *Li Fan Yuan.*

The system by which the Ch'ing administered the non-Chinese sections of their Empire succeeded fairly well so long as the imperial line remained vigorous. It was, however, foredoomed to ultimate failure, for it was designed to do the impossible—to maintain the *status quo.* No attempt was made to amalgamate the Empire by the extension of Chinese culture outside the Eighteen Provinces. Each major section of the realm was encouraged in maintaining its own institutions in so far as these did not immediately threaten revolt.

SUMMARY OF THE OLD SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

This, then, was the system of government under the Ch'ing before it was affected by the coming of the Westerner. Like all human institutions, it had its weaknesses. It suffered from corruption and inefficiency, especially from the latter part of the eighteenth century. The large degree of local autonomy in both the civil and the military organization and the many checks and balances devised to prevent rebellion hindered quick, effective action on a large scale against a foreign foe or a serious revolt. But for these defects, China might not have proved so helpless a victim in her wars with Western powers and the rebellions.

the middle of the nineteenth century might not have gained such headway. The civil service examinations, with their concentration on verbal matters and a memoriter training in the literature of a particular school of philosophy, nourished a pride of culture which made it difficult for the Chinese to be willing to learn from another civilization. This greatly delayed adjustment to the new conditions brought by the coming of the West and thus heightened the debacle when the pressure of Occidental culture could no longer be resisted. Cultural uniformity through the civil service examinations was a brake on change and possible prog-